

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF RICHARD BURT SUNDAY NEW YORK TIMES
ARTICLE -- TENSION GROWS BETWEEN BRZEZINSKI AND STATE
DEPARTMENT

BEGIN TEXT:

ON THE LONG FLIGHT HOME FROM AFRICA ON AIR FORCE ONE EARLIER
THIS MONTH, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL
SECURITY ADVISER, FINALLY GOT THE OPPORTUNITY TO CORNER
HODDING CARTER 3D, THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN, AND TO
ASK HIM A QUESTION THAT HAD BEEN TROUBLING HIM FOR MONTHS:

WHY COULDN'T MR. CARTER KEEP STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS
FROM LEAKING STORIES CRITICAL OF THE WHITE HOUSE ADVISER?

MR. CARTER'S REPLY, OFFICIALS ON THE PRESIDENTIAL PLANE
REPORT, WAS THAT 7000 PEOPLE WORKED AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT
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AND THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP AN EYE ON ALL OF THEM.

I DON'T THINK REPORTERS ARE GETTING THEIR STORIES FROM
THE JANITORS THERE," MR. BRZEZINSKI IS SAID TO HAVE
REPORTED.

A NEW COOLNESS

ACCORDING TO SEVERAL OFFICIALS WHO WERE INTERVIEWED LAST WEEK, THIS EXCHANGE IS TYPICAL OF THE NEW COOLNESS THAT HAS CREPT INTO RELATIONS BETWEEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE WHITE HOUSE'S NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL DURING RECENT WEEKS.

IN PART, OFFICIALS ATTRIBUTE THE TENSION TO "BUREAUCRATIC MISUNDERSTANDINGS" AND PRESSURES CREATED BY RECENT CRITICISM AT HOME AND ABROAD OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY PERFORMANCE. BUT SOME OFFICIALS ARGUE THAT AT THE CORE OF THE DISAGREEMENT IS THE QUESTION OF HOW BEST TO INSURE SMOOTH RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW AND, PARTICULARLY, HOW TO ACHIEVE A NEW ARMS AGREEMENT THAT WOULD WIN THE APPROVAL OF CONGRESS.

A HIGH-RANKING STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL DESCRIBED THE BASIC DISAGREEMENT THIS WAY: "ZBIG BELIEVES THAT ONLY BY DISPLAYING BACKBONE CAN THE ADMINISTRATION ACHIEVE ITS GOALS WITH MOSCOW. BUT MOST PEOPLE AROUND HERE THINK THAT ROUGH TALK AND A THREATENING POSTURE COULD RUIN THE CHANCES FOR WORKING OUT A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP.

THE DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION FIRST BECAME EVIDENT EARLY IN MARCH, WHEN SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE AND MR. BRZEZINSKI SEEMED TO DIFFER OVER THE CON-

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SEQUENCES FOR ARMS NEGOTIATIONS OF CONTINUED SOVIET MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA. SINCE THEN, THERE HAVE BEEN DISPUTES OVER A PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ON DEFENSE POLICY AND OVER THE HANDLING OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON ISSUE.

DIFFERENCES COME TO SURFACE

THE DIFFERENCES BECAME MORE VISIBLE IN RECENT DAYS AS MR. VANCE PREPARED FOR HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW THIS WEEK FOR TALKS ON A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT. AT THE WHITE HOUSE, OFFICIALS INDICATED THAT THEY DID NOT EXPECT THE MISSION TO ACCOMPLISH MUCH AND SOME QUESTIONED WHETHER MR. VANCE AND HIS ADVISERS WOULD TAKE A FIRM ENOUGH LINE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH THE KREMLIN. A HIGH STATE DEPARTMENT-OFFICIAL CALLED THE WHITE HOUSE CONCERNS "ABSURD."

MANY OFFICIALS CONTEND THAT THE DISPUTES BETWEEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND WHITE HOUSE WERE INEVITABLE, IN SPITE OF THE SPECIAL CARE THAT TOP AIDES HAVE TAKEN DURING THE LAST YEAR TO AVOID THE BICKERING THAT CHARACTERIZED THE MAKING OF FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE NIXON-FORD PERIOD. HOWEVER, THEY STRESS THAT SO FAR THE FUEDING HAS NOT

INJURED RELATIONS BETWEEN MR. VANCE AND MR. BRZEZINSKI.

IN AN INTERVIEW, MR. BRZEZINSKI EMPHASIZED THAT HE REMAINED ON GOOD TERMS WITH MR. VANCE AND DENIED THAT THEY WERE AT ODDS OVER POLICY TOWARD MOSCOW. "BOTH ON THE FUNDAMENTALS OF AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS AS WELL AS THE TACTICS, THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN CY AND MYSELF," HE SAID.

HOWEVER, HE WAS ANGRY ABOUT REPORTS IN THE PRESS QUOTING UNNAMED STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS AS CRITICIZING HIS JUDGMENT, AND HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS UNHAPPY ABOUT RECENT ACTIONS OF SOME OF MR. VANCE'S ADVISERS.

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'SECOND ECHELON' BLAMED

SOME WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS EXPRESS THIS VIEW MORE FORCEFULLY, ARGUING THAT "SECOND ECHELON" OFFICIALS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE "UNDERCUT" POLICIES WORKED OUT BY MR. BRZEZINSKI AND APPROVED BY PRESIDENT CARTER.

WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS APPEAR PARTICULARLY UPSET OVER STATE DEPARTMENT ACTIONS SURROUNDING A SPEECH ON DEFENSE DELIVERED BY MR. CARTER AT WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY ON MARCH 17. THE SPEECH, WRITTEN BY A BRZEZINSKI AIDE, SAMUEL HUNTINGTON, WAS MEANT, OFFICIALS SAID, TO PROVIDE A CLEAR SIGNAL TO MOSCOW THAT ITS CONTINUED MILITARY BUILDUP COULD JEOPARDIZE FUTURE SOVIET-AMERICAN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION.

HOWEVER, THEY SAID THAT THE EFFECT OF THE SPEECH MIGHT HAVE BEEN DILUTED WHEN MARSHALL D. SHULMAN, A STATE DEPARTMENT ADVISER ON SOVIET AFFAIRS, RECEIVED MR. VANCE'S PERMISSION TO TELEPHONE AN OFFICIAL IN THE SOVIET EMBASSY AND URGE THAT THE COMPLETE TEXT OF THE SPEECH BE TRANSMITTED TO MOSCOW SO THAT SOVIET LEADERS COULD READ THE CONCILIATORY PORTIONS.

"HOW DO YOU THINK THE SOVIETS INTERPRETED THE CALL?" SAID A WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL. "I'M SURE THEY TOOK IT TO MEAN THAT THEY DIDN'T TAKE THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS SERIOUSLY."

'A STATE DEPARTMENT INTERPRETER'

ANOTHER OFFICIAL SAID, "THE SOVIETS DON'T NEED A STATE DEPARTMENT INTERPRETER TO READ A SPEECH BY MR. CARTER."

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FOLLOWING THIS EPISODE AND PRESS REPORTS SAYING MR. CARTER'S SPEECH WAS ESSENTIALLY DESIGNED FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS SAID THAT SOVIET DIPLOMATS HAD TO BE CALLED IN AND TOLD THAT THE FIRM LANGUAGE CONTAINED IN THE ADDRESS WAS MEANT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

FOR THEIR PART, STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS EXPRESSED ANNOYANCE THAT THEY HAD NOT BEEN GIVEN ADVANCE COPIES OF THE SPEECH. BUT WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS INSIST THAT MR. VANCE WAS GIVEN AN EARLY DRAFT OF THE SPEECH AS WELL AS A FINAL VERSION BEFORE IT WAS MADE.

MR. SHULMAN FIGURED IN ANOTHER DISPUTE EARLY LAST WEEK, WHEN STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SUGGESTED THAT MOSCOW BE INFORMED OF MR. CARTER'S DECISION NOT TO BEGIN PRODUCTION OF THE NEUTRON WEAPON. A DRAFT LETTER TO THE SOVIET LEADER, LEONID I. BREZHNEV, WAS CABLED TO AIR FORCE ONE TO RECEIVE PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL. BUT MR. BRZEZINSKI IMMEDIATELY QUASHED THE IDEA. "ZBIG WAS FURIOUS THAT SHULMAN AND OTHERS AT STATE WANTED TO TELL THE SOVIETS ABOUT THE NEUTRON BOMB DECISION BEFORE WE TOLD THE ALLIES IN EUROPE," A WHITE HOUSE AIDE SAID.

AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, OFFICIALS INCLUDING MR. SHULMAN DENY ANY EFFORT TO UNDERMINE WHITE HOUSE POLICY. ONE OFFICIAL, IN AN EFFORT TO EXPLAIN THE WHITE HOUSE COMPLAINTS, SAID "WITH THINGS NOT GOING TOO SMOOTHLY WITH MOSCOW, OR FOREIGN POLICY GENERALLY, BRZEZINSKI AND HIS PEOPLE ARE LOOKING FOR SCAPEGOATS."

A CLOSE AIDE TO MR. VANCE SUGGESTED THAT THE TENSION COULD BE THE PRODUCT OF AN HONEST MISUNDERSTANDING. HE SUGGESTED THAT MR. BRZEZINSKI'S UNHAPPINESS WITH SECOND-LEVEL STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS RESULTED FROM "A LACK OF CLEAR POLICY DIRECTION FROM THE TOP DOWN."

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"WE DON'T HAVE A CONSISTENT POLICY TOWARD MOSCOW," HE SAID, "AND WHEN THIS IS THE CASE PEOPLE GET INTO TROUBLE. IT'S NOT THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS TRYING TO UNDERCUT POLICY, WE ARE ONLY TRYING TO CARRY OUT WHAT WE THINK THE POLICY IS." CHRISTOPHER

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